

The Status of Social Cohesion in Kenya, 2013

Draft Report

Abridged Version

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Compiled by the Kenya Institute for public Policy Research and Analysis
(KIPPRA)

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Abbreviations/Acronyms

ASAL	Arid and Semi-arid Lands
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HDI	Human Development Index
NASSEP	National Survey Sampling and Evaluation Plan
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
PEV	Post-Election Violence
SCI	Social Cohesion Index
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Introduction

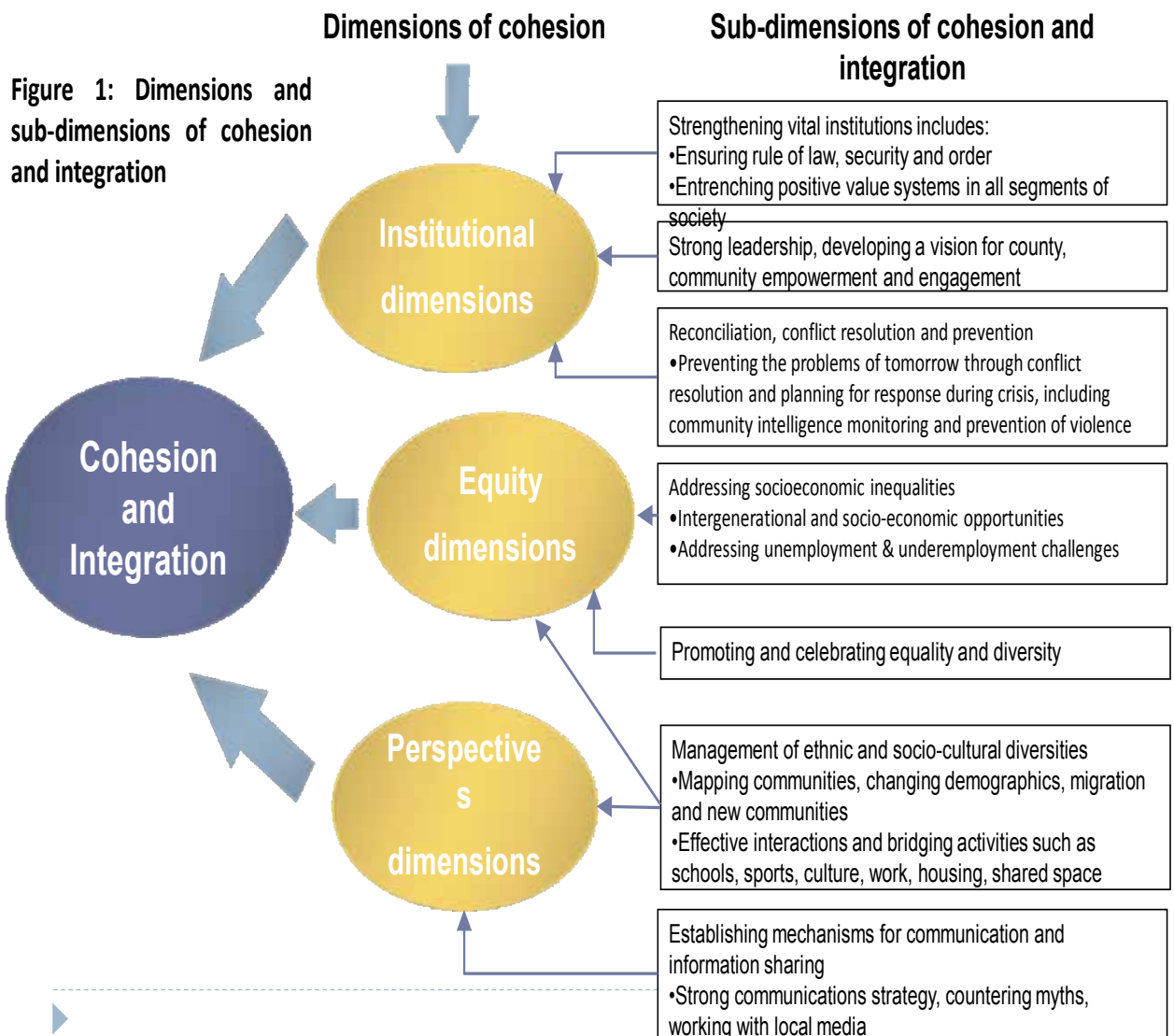
The welfare status of the people in a country depends on how policies and their implementation have either enabled the people's exploitation of livelihood opportunities given by nature, or how the same policies and their implementation have mitigated the livelihood constraints posed by natural heritages. The development status of Kenya's ethnic groups and the ancestral regions in which they live has been shaped by a heritage as a European settler country in which colonial policy favoured areas with high agriculture potential while overlooking those without such potential. Thus, the European settlers' 'White Highlands' was traversed by the Kenya-Uganda railway line and other physical and social infrastructure while the ancestral 'Native Reserves' to which the indigenous population was confined received little or no investments despite paying heavy taxes to the colonial government. Into independence, the national development blueprint, Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, declared war against poverty, disease and ignorance. Its strategy was to focus scarce investment resources in the parts of the country with a 'high absorptive capacity', with the resulting benefits being re-distributed across the rest of the country. Thus, investment focused on the former White Highlands; but there was an inadequate framework for ensuring equitable re-distribution to the rest of the country. This worsened the development gap between the indigenous Kenyans who inherited the former White Highlands and the rest of the Kenyans, especially the pastoralists of the arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL). Beyond Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, there have been various other initiatives aimed at reducing both poverty and inequality, with mixed results. The consequent perception has been that the welfare status of Kenyans in the regions depends on whether or not they hold favour with the government. This undermines social cohesion in the country, that is, the 'sense as well as a feeling that they are members of the same community engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges and accessing similar opportunities'¹ Awareness of the status of social cohesion and of the factors that improve or undermine it are important for nation-building. This was the reason behind the National Cohesion and Integration Commission's (NCIC) desire to estimate a national social cohesion index (SCI) which would enable monitoring cohesion over time and across regions.

'Social cohesion' is an important but elusive concept, as evident from the varied definitions in the literature since its advancement by sociologist Emile Durkheim in 1893. Social cohesion is seen as an ordering feature of society that defines interdependence, shared loyalties and solidarity... glue that holds society together. When estimated, social cohesion measures the level and nature of individuals' (and regions') satisfaction with their relational needs and their consequent solidarity and sense of belonging to a system (government) designed to provide welfare for all. It encompasses social capital in that it (also) builds networks of relationships, trust and identity between individuals and groups, enabling upward social mobility. Thus while social cohesion reflects how people perceive their socio-economic environment, it also enables an authority – such as a government – to gauge the

¹ See Republic of Kenya/Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs (2012), paragraph 13.

extent to which it is succeeding in optimising common welfare while minimising avoidable disparities and polarisation. Consequently, social cohesion is a multidimensional and multilevel phenomenon that can be gauged both through people's *subjective* perceptions of the circumstances, and the *objective* measure of such circumstances. It is thus an end in itself, but is also instrumental in improving people's welfare.

For the Kenyan study, social cohesion has been conceptualised as represented in Figure 1. Cohesion is determined by non-exclusive dimensions which are themselves determined by factors that characterise relations within society, between it and the government, and the outcomes of such relations. Peace is necessary but not sufficient for social cohesion, the most significant factor being the existence of sustainable institutions – a constitution and working governance frameworks – that strive for normalcy when peace is disrupted. In turn this shows that, rather than being a free good, social cohesion requires sustained investments for its realisation.



Thus the defining attributes for the evaluation of social cohesion in Kenya include:

- (i) Prosperity: Capacity of a society to ensure wellbeing of its members, minimising on disparities and avoiding marginalization.
- (ii) Equity: Equality of opportunities, access in fundamental rights, participation in decision making & solidarity.
- (iii) Peace: Peaceful coexistence of individuals and/or communities.
- (iv) Diversity: Bonds that glue people together in the context of ethnic diversity such as values, culture.
- (v) Identity: Respect and tolerance to diversity and unity with both groups and national identities valued.
- (vi) Trust: Capacity of individuals to trust others, especially those from other ethnic groups and institutions.

The Kenyan Context

The Native Reserves of the colonial era were fundamentally ethnic homelands that facilitated divide-and-rule tactics: people only travelled out of them for specific employment, minimising interactions across ethnic boundaries. Agriculture dominates Kenyan livelihoods which heightens the significance of agro-ecological heritages. Central Kenya and the areas on either side of the railway line offer diverse livelihood pursuits, but livelihoods diversity diminish with distance from the railway line, such that the ASALs of the outermost have a singular pastoralist livelihood – in instances, nomadic, in degrading environments. The central place of agriculture with an enhancing land constraint alongside growing populations fosters conflict. The predominantly ethnic Kikuyu victims of colonial land expropriation were scattered into a non-ancestral Rift Valley diaspora, with further such out migration facilitating the emergence of an African settler class into independence – developments that have bred resentment among the receiving ethnic groups, notably the Kalenjin, Maasai and Mijikenda of the Kenyan coast. Meanwhile, diminishing agricultural opportunities and the lack of rural non-agriculture alternatives has fuelled youth migration into urban underemployment in the informal sector or into urban unemployment, fostering despondency and tensions especially in the high density – slum – residential areas. In the ASALs, too, the encroaching Sahel has contributed to diminishing pasture and water, which interact with traditional values to breed persistent pastoralist conflict alongside drought inflicted livestock losses.

The foregoing conflicts play out in the context of perceptions and realities of unequal sharing of national resources which have been seen to favour the ethnic group providing the President and communities close to them. These inequalities are demonstrated in terms of public appointments and the regional distribution of development interventions. Table 1 illustrates the ethnic inequalities in civil service employment, with the Kikuyu for example having a 5% advantage of jobs compared to their share of the population while the Luhya share of jobs is 3% less than their share of the population. Even greater inequalities are reflected over senior public offices, such as cabinet positions, which has been responsible for the grossly inequitable share of public investment resources and consequently, livelihood opportunities.

Table 1: Ethnic Distribution of National Population and Civil Service Jobs, 2011

Ethnic group	Population (2009 census)		Share of Civil Service Jobs (%)	Population/Jobs Share Variance
	Numbers	Share (%)		
Kikuyu	6,622,576	17.7	22.3	+ 4.6
Luhya	5,338,666	14.2	11.3	- 2.9
Kalenjin	4,967,328	13.3	16.7	+ 3.4
Luo	4,044,440	10.8	9.0	- 1.8
Kamba	3,893,157	10.4	9.7	- 0.7
Kenya Somali	2,385,572	6.4	2.7	- 3.7
Kisii	2,205,669	5.9	6.8	+ 0.9
Mijikenda	1,960,574	5.2	3.8	- 1.4
Meru	1,658,108	4.4	5.9	+1.5
Turkana	??	2.6	1.0	- 1.6
Maasai	841,622	2.2	1.5	- 0.7
Embu	324,092	0.9	2.0	+ 1.1
Taita	273,519	0.7	1.5	+ 0.8
Boran	161,399	0.4	1.2	+ 0.8

Source: NCIC (2011).

This was the prevailing context against which Kenyans demanded a comprehensive, people-driven review of the selectively revised independence constitution. A repackaged Bomas draft constitution – perceived to suit incumbency – was rejected by a 2005 referendum, arguably setting the backdrop for the post 2007 election violence (PEV)² eventually resolved by the internationally chaperoned National Accord which included a time bound agenda for the finalisation of the constitution review process. In August 2010, Kenya promulgated its new constitution which significantly diminished the scope for presidential arbitrariness while enhancing the scope for equity in the management of public resources, including the devolution of service delivery to 47 autonomous equitably-funded county governments. The Constitution’s Chapter 4 presents the Bill of Rights contains measures to redress avenues of perceived and real inequalities in treatment by the government and society. The National Accord also emphasised the need for attention to national social cohesion through its creation of NCIC.

In 2008, the country had also launched its long-term development blueprint, *Kenya Vision 2030* which aspires for improved political and socio-economic cohesion and integration. It also developed Sessional Paper No. 2 of 2012, the national policy on cohesion and integration which aims to “ensure that Kenya becomes an equitable society that is politically, economically and socially cohesive and integrated, where the citizens have a shared vision and sense of belonging while appreciating diversity.” Besides the foregoing, there are several

² Issues surrounding PEV are well articulated in the Waki Report, available at http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/15A00F569813F4D549257607001F459D-Full_Report.pdf Accessed 19/02/2014.

other sectoral initiatives aimed at enhancing social cohesion, such as attention to youth unemployment and protection of the vulnerable members of society.

Methodology of the Development of Kenya’s Social Cohesion Index (SCI)

The literature shows discretion over the numbers of dimensions and their elements to include in the construction of an SCI, with choices being based on the nature of the context and the data available. There is a suggestion that moving from less to more dimensions improves the quality of the index. The current study settled on a conceptualisation of cohesion involving six dimensions, including Prosperity, Equity, Trust, Peace, Diversity and Identity. For perceptions, the study undertook a nationally representative survey covering 4,860 rural and urban households in 324 clusters across the country, based on the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics’ National Sample Survey and Evaluation Programme (NASSEP) V (See Table 2 for some sample characteristics).³ Various sources provided objective measures of national and county level development, notably the United Nations Development Programme’s (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI). Focus group discussions and key informants interviews also offered material for triangulation.

Table 2: Age, Education and Employment Characteristics of Survey Respondents

Age Bracket (years)		Education Status		Employment status	
age18_35	48.6%	None	13.8%	Paid employee	24.1%
age36_55	34.8%	Primary	47.5%	Working employer	2.6%
age56_65	9.3%	Secondary	27.9%	Own account worker	44.2%
age66_above	7.3%	Tertiary college	7.6%	Unpaid family worker	27.7%
		University	3.1%	Apprentice	1.5%
Observations (N)	4,553		4,566		3,303

The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) technique is the statistical method that was employed to identify latent variables from a large list of possible variables that might explain cohesion. PCA transforms the original correlated variables into a smaller number of uncorrelated variables, examining the variance-covariance matrix of the factors underlying a phenomenon, such as social cohesion, while retaining all the variability in the individual factors in computing the aggregate measure. Finally, the weighted data for each significant variable are summed up to arrive at an index for each dimension, which are subsequently aggregated to arrive at SCI.

³ At the time of the household survey, the NASSEP V framework had yet to include Garissa, Mandera and Wajir counties, which the survey nonetheless covered. Consequently, a sample weighted SCI was estimated excluding the three counties while another unweighted estimation included them. See Table 7.

Table 3: Components of Social Cohesion and their PCA Weights

Component	Elements	Eigenvalue	PCA weight	Eigenvector
Trust	Complete trust in people of another ethnic group	3.1267	Significant	0.2840
	Courts (Judiciary)	1.37897	Significant	0.4026
	Kenya government (National and County Governments; Parliament)	0.819276	Low weight	
	Religious institutions	0.766125	Low weight	
	Financial institutions	0.557786	Low weight	
	Educational institutions	0.540931	Low weight	
	Human rights institutions and media	0.43536	Low weight	
	People of another religion	0.37485	Low weight	
Peace	National security	2.42429	Significant	0.4506
	Law and order	1.45306	Significant	0.4211
	No Tensions	1.22147	Significant	0.4351
	No social issues (family breakdown; drug use; lack of social direction)	1.05889	Significant	0.3564
	People of different socio-economic class	0.952202	Low weight	
	No ethnic violence	0.910421	Low weight	
	Relations with people from another ethnic group after PEV	0.847184	Low weight	
	No constant conflict with neighbours	0.775804	Low weight	
	Never a victim of crime	0.738417	Low weight	
	People of different ethnic groups getting along well	0.565594	Low weight	
	Poverty and food insecurity not a problem	0.561603	Low weight	
	Youth unemployment not a problem	0.491067	Low weight	
	Equity	Good road infrastructure	2.24035	Significant
Share of households with access to water		1.02879	Significant	0.5572
Share of households with access to electricity		1.01772	Significant	0.5435
Share of households with access to sanitation		0.956069	Low weight	
Fair distribution of good roads across regions		0.923064	Low weight	
Important-sharing of government jobs		0.457481	Low weight	
Gap between the rich and poor is too low		0.376524	Low weight	
Diversity	Spend time with people of other ethnicity	1.9059	Significant	0.6523
	Communicate with people of other ethnicity	1.08357	Significant	0.6461
	Intermarriages promote ethnic diversity	1.00434	Significant	0.1463
	Social protection for all	0.951399	Low weight	
	Proud of ethnic community customs	0.81018	Low weight	
	Friendship with people of other ethnic identity	0.244609	Low weight	
Prosperity	GDP index	1.89515	Significant	0.6327
	Share of non-poor population	1.18086	Significant	0.4384
	Education index	1.00121	Significant	0.6009
	Life expectancy index	0.860752	Low weight	
	Access to clean and safe drinking water	0.751494	Low weight	
	Can afford to buy all things	0.310546	Low weight	
National Identity	Importance of ethnicity in defining identity	1.77799	significant	0.5855
	Importance of belonging to an ethnic group	1.0314	significant	0.5714
	Community has strong sense of identity	0.914933	Low weight	
	Proud to be Kenyan	0.780738	Low weight	
	Importance of voting in national elections	0.494938	Low weight	

Source: PCA output.

Survey Findings

The following section summarises some of the findings of the household survey.

Trust

As Table 3 shows, six factors were subjected to PCA to determine a smaller number of uncorrelated variables for the Trust dimension, which identified (i) ‘complete trust in people from other ethnic groups’, and (ii) ‘trust in the court’. These are the two variables at play in the determinations under the Trust dimension, with the analysis of the first one being presented in Table 4. The national rate of ‘absolute trust’ is 38.3%, with rural people and males being more trusting than urban people and females respectively. Complete trust diminishes with education but rises with age. These same patterns were reflected over ‘trust for the government to do the right thing for Kenyans’, the national absolute rate being 35.6% while 9.4% declared it never trusts the government at all. These broad patterns were also repeated for human rights institutions and the courts. Trust is often reflected in the willingness of people to participate in their governance, with only 12.6% of respondents declaring they did not vote in 2013, 61.5% of these being because they had not registered to vote.

Table 4: How much do you trust people from another ethnic group? 2013

	Trust completely	Trust somewhat	Do not trust
National	38.3	48.0	13.7
Region			
Rural	42.8	43.4	13.9
Urban	31.8	54.8	13.4
Gender			
Male	41.2	44.8	14.0
Female	36.5	50.0	13.5
Education			
None	41.8	41.4	16.8
Primary	41.2	45.7	13.1
Secondary	35.0	51.8	13.2
Tertiary college	34.9	51.7	13.4
University	23.0	62.0	15.1
Age group (years)			
Age 18 to 35	35.0	48.9	16.0
Age 36 to 55	39.7	48.3	12.0
Age 56 to 65	42.8	46.7	10.5
Age 66 and above	48.4	42.4	9.2

Diversity

PCA output conceptualised Diversity in terms of acceptance of people from other ethnic groups, including through intermarriage which 65% of the respondents adjudged to promote social cohesion. While approval for intermarriage was greater among rural and male respondents, the influences of age and education were erratic. These positive views on intermarriage existed notwithstanding the fact that 57.9% of respondents were ‘extremely

proud' of their ethnic customs, greater among the older and uneducated populations. While 79% of respondents 'always' had close friends from other ethnic groups rising sharply with education while falling sharply with age, only a mere 16.4% 'always communicated with people of other ethnic groups', the effect of education being ambiguous while rising age and rural domicile lowered contacts.

Identity

While the PCA technique found 'proud of being Kenyan' not to be significant, 72% of respondents declared they were 'extremely proud', marginally dominated by urban and male respondents, as well as the more educated and older respondents. On 'community identity', only 60.5% felt this was strong, largely among rural males, with the perception falling with rising education and rising with age.

Table 5: How proud are you to be Kenyan? 2013

	Extremely proud	Proud	Moderately proud	Not Proud at all
National	72.0	18.9	7.3	1.7
Region				
Rural	71.4	18.6	7.8	2.1
Urban	72.9	19.5	6.5	1.1
Gender				
Male	73.8	17.2	6.4	2.6
Female	71.0	20.0	7.9	1.1
Education				
None	60.9	27.3	9.1	2.6
Primary	73.6	17.6	7.6	1.2
Secondary	74.8	17.4	6.1	1.7
Tertiary college	70.0	19.8	8.3	1.9
University	72.6	17.7	4.6	5.1
Age group				
Age 18 to 35	71.8	19.7	7.1	1.4
Age 36 to 55	71.3	18.4	8.3	2.1
Age 56 to 65	73.5	16.9	8.0	1.6
Age 66 and above	75.2	19.2	3.6	1.9

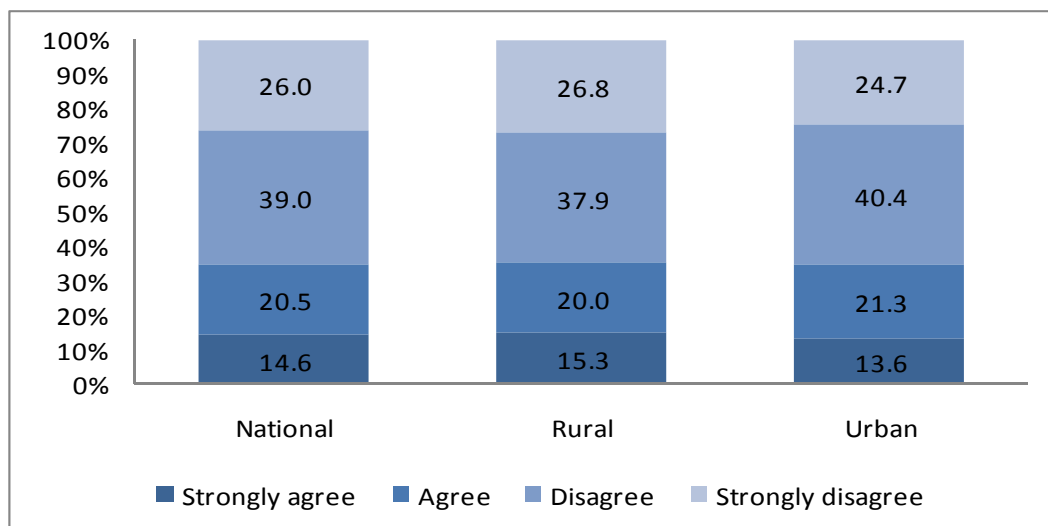
Peace

Against the backdrop of PEV, the question inquired into how peoples of different ethnic groups were "getting along these days". Only 39.6% felt they were getting along 'very well'; but only 8.8% felt they were getting along 'poorly' or 'very poorly'. Perceptions that people were getting along 'very well' reduced with education but increased with age. On people of different socio-economic classes, 13% felt this was 'poor' or 'very poor', but nearly 87% felt they were getting along 'well' or very well', the effects of education and age being as in the relations between peoples of different ethnic groups. The rate of 'constant conflicts with neighbours' was a modest 1.3% while only 13% of the respondents had been victims of a crime in the preceding year, mainly urban respondents, but also mainly young males with higher education status.

Prosperity

The factor identified by the largest share of respondents to be ‘a major problem’ for prosperity were youth unemployment (92.1%), food insecurity (76.2%), income inequality (68.9%) and poor road infrastructure (65.1%). Nearly 60% declared ethnic tensions not to be a problem while another 49.2% found ‘nepotism and tribalism’ to be a problem at all. Against the backdrop of the 2005/06 household welfare survey findings, a surprising 51.9% of respondents nationwide said ‘clean and safe drinking water’ was ‘easily accessible’, compared to 46.9% and 59.1% for rural and urban areas respectively. On the fair distribution of public goods across regions, only 14.6% ‘strongly agree’ at the national level, as shown in Figure 2, compared to 15.3% and 13.6% in rural and urban areas respectively. Importantly, 65% either ‘disagreed’ or ‘strongly disagreed’ over this factor that is so important for a sense of belonging. The effects of education and age were ambiguous.

Figure 2: Public goods are distributed fairly across Kenya’s regions



Equity

On ‘the income gap between the high and low incomes being too large’, 65.4% ‘strongly agreed’ with another 27.6% ‘agreeing’. The rural approval rate was higher, but the trends in the rates were ambiguous for regions, education and age. A large majority (93.2%) felt that Kenya was a land of economic opportunity; yet only 25.7% of respondents felt there was financial support for low income groups with 65% feeling that social programmes have fostered peaceful co-existence.

On whether the household presently had enough money for the basics – food; rent; clothing – only 8.7% of the nationwide sample of respondents always had the money with 60.9% never or rarely having it. The latter status – rarely or never – stood at 64.8% for rural households and 55.5% for urban households. On food security specifically, gauged by access to three meals a day, only 33.1% of the national sample was always able to afford with 8.6% never

being able to afford. In rural areas, the comparable numbers were 28.2% and 9.8% respectively, while in urban areas they were 40.3% and 6.8% respectively.

Expectations for the Future

The survey also inquired into expectations for the future with very few respondents expecting victimisation based on their ethnicity (74.7%), socio-economic status (78.2%) and religion (85.2%). Conversely, as is shown in Table 6, the outlook on future relations was very bright with improvements expected over inter-ethnic relations (73.9%), intra-ethnic relations (75%), race relations (71.9%) and intra-religious relations (72.9%).

Table 6: Future expectations about relationships across social groups (%)

	Inter-ethnic relations	Intra-ethnic relations	Race relations	Inter-religious relations	Intra-religious relations
Improve very much	40.6	43.5	34.9	42.2	44.8
Improve slightly	33.3	31.5	28.7	29.7	28.1
Remain unchanged	15.4	20.2	31.8	22.3	23.5
Get worse	10.7	4.8	4.5	5.8	3.6
Observations (N)	4,510	4,510	4,497	4,511	4,506

National Social Cohesion Index

The SCI estimates are reported in Table 7, the unweighted indices for 47 counties including Garissa, Mandera and Wajir, while the weighted indices for 44 counties excludes the three. The unweighted national SCI was estimated at 56.6% compared to 58.1% for the weighted index, as shown in Table 7 which also reports poverty rates. Cohesion was marginally higher among rural than urban respondents, and increased marginally with age. The same pattern maintained for the weighted indices: while both sets of education indices assumed an inverted U-shape, the weighted age indices peaked at either extreme.

Table 7: Social Cohesion Index by selected categories, 2013

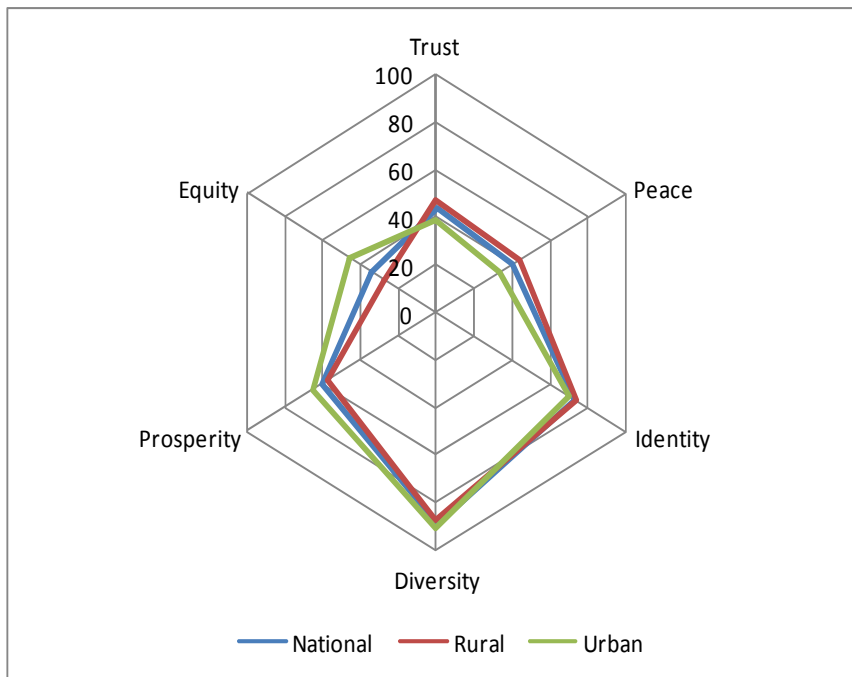
	Poverty	Trust	Peace	Identity	Diversity	Prosperity	Equity	SCI
	Unweighted (47 counties)							
National	49.4	43.7	40.1	72.7	88.6	60.5	34.6	56.6
Region								
Rural	45.3	47.3	44.5	74.5	87.4	57.4	27.2	56.4
Urban	52.2	38.3	33.8	70.0	90.3	65.1	45.5	57.0
Gender								
Male	43.5	43.5	38.6	72.9	91.2	60.2	33.4	56.6
Female	43.8	43.8	41.1	72.5	87.0	60.7	35.3	56.6
Education								
None	60.3	41.9	44.3	82.0	76.8	51.0	27.4	53.7
Primary	49.1	47.9	42.7	74.4	89.4	60.3	31.4	57.7
Secondary	46.6	40.6	37.6	68.8	92.0	63.7	39.7	56.9
Tertiary college	45.3	38.4	33.3	65.3	92.7	64.4	41.8	55.9
University	41.1	27.5	22.6	57.5	89.2	68.7	51.2	52.3

Age group								
Age18_35	48.5	41.4	40.0	71.0	89.4	61.1	36.8	56.5
Age36_55	50.1	44.0	39.1	72.3	89.5	60.5	34.3	56.6
Age56_65	52.0	48.4	44.5	75.2	85.9	58.6	29.5	57.1
Age66_above	50.0	51.2	40.5	81.2	84.6	59.6	27.3	57.2
		Weighted (44 counties)						
National	49.4	43.4	39.3	72.1	88.5	65.5	40.3	58.1
Region								
Rural	45.3	48.1	45.7	75.1	87.3	59.2	26.8	57.0
Urban	52.2	36.6	30.1	67.7	90.3	74.6	59.9	59.6
Gender								
Male	43.5	43.5	38.1	72.2	91.2	65.0	38.8	58.1
Female	43.8	43.3	40.1	72.0	86.9	65.7	41.1	58.1
Education								
None	60.3	45.1	48.1	84.9	79.1	56.9	26.9	56.7
Primary	49.1	47.3	42.7	74.2	88.8	62.9	34.4	58.5
Secondary	46.6	39.8	35.0	67.6	91.2	69.4	48.1	58.3
Tertiary college	45.3	38.4	30.4	64.4	92.0	72.1	53.6	58.3
University	41.1	27.4	20.7	54.0	88.8	80.5	67.4	55.3
Age group								
Age18_35	48.5	41.3	39.0	70.2	89.2	67.3	43.9	58.3
Age36_55	50.1	43.4	38.5	71.3	89.4	64.9	39.7	57.9
Age56_65	52.0	48.0	42.4	76.3	86.6	61.2	31.7	57.7
Age66_above	50.0	53.0	42.2	82.6	83.9	60.9	27.9	58.1

The unweighted dimensions ranged from diversity's 88.6% to equity's 34.6%, the latter dimension being substituted by peace (39.1%) among the weighted dimensions. Among the unweighted dimensions, the gender differences were negligible, but the rural/urban differences were often quite large – 11 percentage points for Peace; and 18 percentage points for Equity. Trust, Peace and Identity diminished with education, in contrast to Prosperity and Equity which rose with education. Trust and Identity rose with age, which lowered Diversity, Prosperity and Equity. The pattern was more or less the same for the weighted indices.

As noted in the methodology above, the national SCI is a simple average of the aggregate for the six dimensions. Figure 3 illustrates this reality in showing that the SCI is the share of the area under the national, urban or rural indices of the maximum SCI frontier. Such a diagram graphically suggests the relative attainments on the dimensions; but from an intervention perspective, one should keep in mind that a unit intervention does not have the same SCI changing impact across the dimensions. However, such a presentation is useful for civic education where the figures of Table 7 might deter interest.

Figure 3: Mapping National and Sub-national SCIs



The Constitution’s devolution of governance to 47 counties is opportune since the inequalities driving weak social cohesion are invariably the product of undemocratic, top-down approaches to development. Thus, the most efficacious approach to engendering national cohesion is to map its character as near to the grassroots as possible, and to plan interventions in mandatory consultation with target communities. With that thinking in mind, Table 8 presents county level SCI, the data also enabling sub-county analysis (not reported here). The data show the county SCIs of Wajir (22.0%) and Kiambu (65.9%) to be at opposing extremes. The highlighted national SCI of 56.6% falls exactly halfway among the counties; but of greater concern is the disparity in the SCI range among the 23 counties below and the 24 counties above. The skewed distribution of county SCI scores around the national mean – with a range of a mere 9.3 percentage points for the 24 above, compared to 34.6 percentage points for the 23 counties below – underscores the severity of marginalisation of some Kenyan counties. Wajir County’s best performance across the six domains is with respect to Identity; but its scores in at least 3 dimensions are notably low: 0% for Prosperity; 1.6% for Peace; and 2.6% for Trust. Other ASAL counties – Garissa, Mandera, Tana River and Kajiado – also perform comparably badly, Wajir, Mandera and Garissa being counties of the old Northern Frontier District ignored by colonialism, and by successive independence governments. The other notable indices are 100% scores for coastal Kenya counties – Lamu, Kwale and Taita Taveta – on Diversity; Nairobi’s perfect scores for Equity and Prosperity; the modest Equity scores of Bomet, Kitui, Migori, Homa Bay and Narok; and a scattering of other outliers. These scores must be understood against the context of the elements that PCA found to be significant for their respective dimensions (Table 3).

Table 8: County Social Cohesion Indices, 2013

	Trust	Peace	Identity	Diversity	Prosperity	Equity	SCI
Wajir	2.6	1.6	59.2	53.2	0.0	15.1	22.0
Garissa	8.9	18.0	54.8	79.3	20.5	39.0	36.5
Mandera	14.4	25.6	70.1	87.5	21.1	13.9	38.8
Tana River	12.3	8.8	62.5	99.8	58.5	14.4	43.0
Machakos	37.5	36.6	56.6	78.9	55.7	13.3	46.6
Kajiado	36.4	31.8	58.9	84.0	22.8	56.9	48.0
Baringo	26.9	34.5	78.4	82.0	70.9	11.2	50.0
Kitui	59.7	48.7	81.0	86.7	17.8	6.0	50.6
West Pokot	39.9	34.8	81.4	91.6	55.0	1.9	50.7
Vihiga	32.0	22.9	76.3	91.8	57.5	26.2	51.1
Turkana	46.7	42.2	95.0	64.0	41.3	17.9	52.1
Bomet	45.2	58.7	68.8	94.4	42.8	7.4	53.1
Kwale	28.8	41.7	81.7	100.0	41.4	25.3	53.2
Nakuru	55.3	38.1	41.4	96.5	37.2	49.3	53.4
Bungoma	15.1	34.1	80.8	92.1	61.0	38.3	53.5
Kakamega	32.2	29.4	78.0	96.5	57.0	29.9	53.8
Busia	38.6	39.8	61.6	93.0	59.5	31.4	54.1
Meru	41.2	34.5	69.9	80.0	64.7	40.9	54.8
Marsabit	52.7	47.4	90.6	72.8	54.0	14.8	55.1
Samburu	65.1	36.6	77.3	92.0	49.4	13.4	55.6
Laikipia	58.7	39.0	49.5	98.0	51.8	37.9	55.7
Makueni	58.6	48.8	89.3	77.0	48.9	16.5	56.0
Elgeyo Marakwet	37.4	47.3	82.0	96.3	64.5	14.9	56.5
National	43.7	40.1	72.7	88.6	60.5	34.6	56.6
Taita Taveta	40.8	46.4	72.1	100.0	32.5	48.0	56.8
Tharaka	56.6	37.9	77.6	78.2	73.1	18.8	57.0
Isiolo	58.3	40.2	90.3	74.6	35.0	43.4	57.4
Trans Nzoia	35.0	26.7	85.3	94.3	69.5	32.7	57.4
Nandi	65.6	57.1	59.1	97.9	52.1	13.8	57.6
Embu	62.1	42.0	79.8	88.3	44.6	32.6	57.8
Homa Bay	60.2	62.6	80.1	87.6	54.3	5.3	57.9
Nyamira	52.9	55.0	76.4	69.7	65.3	24.0	57.9
Migori	65.4	48.2	74.9	95.1	65.2	0.0	58.1
Narok	56.4	70.5	70.9	79.5	68.0	5.0	58.4
Lamu	21.2	37.2	81.7	100.0	72.0	41.6	58.7
Murang'a	53.9	49.7	65.1	90.1	74.6	25.7	59.8
Kilifi	21.6	46.0	87.1	97.2	60.6	45.2	59.8
Mombasa	15.1	29.7	90.9	99.2	63.1	71.3	61.4
Nyandarua	56.7	43.3	57.5	96.3	82.9	33.0	61.5
Kisii	65.0	53.3	77.9	83.3	67.1	23.9	61.6
Kirinyaga	53.9	48.0	64.0	92.0	76.9	36.9	62.0
Kericho	59.4	49.0	66.7	93.6	80.9	25.2	62.6
Kisumu	57.3	57.3	80.5	81.5	71.1	29.6	62.7
Nyeri	46.0	43.7	67.0	88.5	76.0	55.3	62.9
Siaya	62.5	65.2	77.5	89.8	70.6	14.7	63.2
Nairobi	26.4	10.2	64.0	82.8	100.0	100.0	63.7
Uasin Gishu	39.5	38.9	84.8	96.0	73.0	55.2	64.5
Kiambu	44.8	39.6	63.6	93.1	86.2	68.7	65.9

Among the leading counties, Kiambu, Uasin Gishu, Kirinyaga and Murang'a – and of course, Nairobi, had found favour with the colonial government and the independence government's Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965. Yet, ironically, the weakest domain of the top performers – Nairobi, Uasin Gishu and Kiambu aside – is in the equity dimension, which is however consistent with the fact that the dimension performs poorly even at the national level.

Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews

The main problem identified by all FGDs and key informants interviews was tensions over land rights as a direct or indirect source of conflicts. Some of these tensions went back to the colonial era while others had more recent roots. On the other hand, the discussions were strong on the potential for inter-marriage and religion to provide the basis for conflict resolution and reconciliation, leading one person to comment that: "our government is the church because it is the church that helps us more than anyone else!" Activities, such as sports and other cultural pursuits were also seen to have great potential as it leads to others "drinking milk from our cows", diminishing the potential for conflict. The discussion also lamented growing delinquency.

Linking Social Cohesion and Development

The discussion on the meaning and nature of social cohesion identified that it is both an end in itself, such as having peaceful coexistence, and a means to an end, such peaceful coexistence providing opportunities for welfare enhancing interventions. Table 9 offers a correlation matrix which maps trends in county welfare status measures as the SCI rises from Wajir's 22.0% towards Kiambu's 65.9% – for the time being ignoring the many other useful associations illustrated by the matrix.⁴ The matrix shows that as SCI rises by a unit (100%), access to sanitation rises by 58.6%, road density by 32.2%, purchasing power parity (PPP) by 37.4%. Most of the correlation coefficients between SCI and the welfare measures are positive, meaning that as cohesion improves. In the cases of kilometres of roads (ROADKM = -0.189) and life expectancy (LONGEVIT = -0.054), the coefficient is negative, explained by the fact that the longest road distances are in the expansive ASAL counties with poor welfare statuses. In effect, therefore, while social cohesion is intangible, it can be 'reached' through other variables.

⁴ A correlation coefficient of 1.000 would mean that a unit rise in SCI occurs alongside a unit rise in the other variable – whether it is access to sanitation, school enrolment, affordability of 3 meals a day, etc. A negative coefficient means that a rise in SCI is associated with a fall in the other variable. When the association is 'significant' (the SCI highlights in Table 9), then it is not by chance.

Table 9: Correlating SCI and Development Attributes

	WATER	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]
SANITAT [1]	.467(**)	1									
	.001	.									
ELECTRIC [2]	.543(**)	.485(**)	1								
	.000	.001	.								
ROADKM [3]	-.030	-.058	.138	1							
	.839	.699	.354	.							
RDDENSE [4]	.313(*)	.624(**)	.739(**)	-.148	1						
	.032	.000	.000	.321	.						
RDPAVED [5]	.276	.479(**)	.691(**)	-.199	.815(**)	1					
	.060	.001	.000	.180	.000	.					
RDGOOD [6]	-.061	-.038	-.199	-.378(**)	-.079	.102	1				
	.684	.799	.180	.009	.600	.497	.				
LONGEVIT [7]	.134	.078	.017	.160	-.195	-.142	-.062	1			
	.368	.604	.912	.282	.189	.341	.677	.			
LITERACY [8]	.180	.840(**)	.411(**)	-.042	.587(**)	.498(**)	.000	-.104	1		
	.227	.000	.004	.782	.000	.000	.997	.485	.		
ENROL [9]	-.021	.614(**)	-.048	-.099	.222	.224	.161	-.064	.799(**)	1	
	.887	.000	.746	.507	.134	.130	.279	.667	.000	.	
PPP [10]	.499(**)	.576(**)	.893(**)	.009	.726(**)	.763(**)	-.143	-.036	.541(**)	.137	1
	.000	.000	.000	.953	.000	.000	.338	.810	.000	.358	.
SCI [11]	.029	.586(**)	.222	-.189	.322(*)	.303(*)	.224	-.054	.653(**)	.572(**)	.374(**)
	.845	.000	.134	.204	.028	.039	.130	.721	.000	.000	.010

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Conclusions and implications for policy

The study has developed a national SCI and county SCIs. While the methods for developing such indices vary, the important factors for quality are that the context is well understood and sound perception and/or objective data are obtained. It seems pertinent also that one keeps in mind the objective of developing the indices since some variables are more amenable to policy interventions than others. The study reported here depend on a nationally representative household survey, objective data from UNDP, FGDs and key informant interviews. After an initial conceptualisation, these data were subjected to the PCA technique which selects the few variables that most ably represent all the variables originally incorporated in the concept, across the six dimensions of social cohesion that this report chose to work with.

It is important that the indices arrived at are viewed against the backdrop of the variables the PCA technique identified to be significant, some of which might well be counter-intuitive.

Further, variations in context and data mean that it is not very useful to compare Kenya's SCI of 56.6% with others available in the literature, including other Kenyan SCIs. Given the failure of successive independence regimes to mitigate the harsh agro-ecological heritages of some parts of the country, and the persisting dominance of agricultural employment, it is unsurprising that Equity should be the poorest dimension. Additionally, it is notable that the FGDs and key informant interviews also point to land injustices as a key area requiring interventions for greater social cohesion. County level indices underscore the significance of agriculture livelihoods and of land in having Kiambu as the most cohesive county while Wajir leads a pack of ASAL counties in being least cohesive. Many areas of the Constitution – more than Vision 2030 – offer opportunities for improving cohesion, including the Bill of Rights (Chapter 4) and Devolution (Chapter 11).

Policy suggestions emerging from the analysis include the need to:

- Address horizontal and vertical inequalities including access to public services and opportunities;
- Address poverty through a growth, redistribution and productivity oriented strategy. This is critical for improved livelihoods and prosperity;
- Social cohesion is imperative for sustainable development of the county;
- There is need to promote social values, trust, peace and positive management of ethnic diversities in the county. Investing in systems for early warning, conflict management and peace building is critical;
- Sustained human capital development through investing in health and education; and targeting counties with low human capital outcomes;
- Establish a social cohesion data and information system and ensure regular data and information collection. This would ensure effective monitoring of social cohesion in the country;
- Human and infrastructure capital development should also be strengthened, notwithstanding devolution of service delivery;
- At the national level, Equity and Peace are the worst dimensions of social cohesion; and
- Mitigating the harsh environmental conditions among pastoralist communities.

